

Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 SOFIA 01380 01 OF 02 021610Z

44

ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 PM-04 INR-07 L-03 ACDA-07

NSAE-00 PA-01 SS-15 PRS-01 SP-02 USIA-06 TRSE-00

SAJ-01 DODE-00 H-02 NSC-05 IO-13 /080 W

----- 117764

P R 021413Z JUL 76

FM AMEMBASSY SOFIA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 1420

INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST

AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST

AMEMBASSY BERLIN

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY PRAGUE

AMEMBASSY WARSAW

USNATO BRUSSELS 475

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 SOFIA 1380

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, PROP, UR, BU, CSCE

SUBJECT: ZHIVKOV WAS NOT SPEAKING ONLY FOR BULGARIA IN BERLIN

REF: A) BERLIN 6163; B) MOSCOW 10438

1. SUMMARY: IN THE GENERAL CONGRATULATIONS ABOUT THE LOOSENING OF MOSCOW'S REINS OVER COMMUNIST PARTIES AS CONFIRMED BY THE ECPC, THE HARD-LINING SPEECH BY ZHIVKOV MAY SEEM A HETERO-GENEOUS ELEMENT OF MARGINAL IMPORTANCE. WE DO NOT THINK HE COULD HAVE MADE THAT SPEECH WITHOUT SOVIET ENCOURAGEMENT OR AT LEAST CLEARANCE. HIS REMARKS ABOUT PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE FURTHERING REVOLUTION, ABOUT THE ROLE OF SOVIET POWER IN THE FORTUNES OF WESTERN COMMUNIST PARTIES, AND ABOUT PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM THUS DESERVE ATTENTION. WE RECOMMEND FOCUS ON TWO OF HIS STATEMENTS, ONE IS OLVIFX HIS UN-

SUBSTANTIATED CHARGE AGAINST NATO ACTIVITIES IN THE
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 SOFIA 01380 01 OF 02 021610Z

BALKANS, FOR POSSIBLE US AND WESTERN REACTION. END

SUMMARY.

2. WHILE WE COULD HARDLY CLAIM THAT ZHIVKOV'S STATEMENTS AT THE ECPC PROVIDE THE KEY TO TRUE SOVIET FEELINGS ABOUT PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM, "INEXORABLE LAWS OF MARXISM-LENINISM", AND THE QUESTION OF A PARTY CENTER, IT IS NOTEWORTHY THAT IT WAS LEFT TO THIS STAUNCHEST OF SOVIET HENCHMEN TO EXPOUND THE OLD-TIME RELIGION -- AND THAT HIS SPEECH FILLED THE PLACE OF HONOR (I.E. ACROSS FROM THAT OF LEONID ILLY'ICH) IN PRAVDA. THERE IS LITTLE DOUBT THAT ZHIVKOV WAS ENCOURAGED TO MAKE PRECISELY THE KIND OF SPEECH HE MADE. AT THE VERY LEAST HE MADE WFIU T R CAREFUL

CLEARANCE WITH MOSCOW.

3. IN LIGHT OF HIS LIKELY ASSIGNED ROLE, IT SEEMS TO US USEFUL TO SPEND A BIT MORE TIME THAN ONE USUALLY WOULD IN EXAMINING ZHIVKOV'S REMARKS, AND MANY OF THE NOTES STRUCK ARE INDEED INTERESTING. HIS THOUGHTS ON THE MOVEMENT'S EXTERNAL RELATIONS ARE FAIRLY STANDARD, BUT WORTH RECALLING NEVERTHELESS BECAUSE THEY DEMONSTRATE -- AMIDST THE GENERAL EUPHORIA IN THE WEST -- THAT THE BASIC POLICY OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST MOVEMENT IS NOT REALLY CHANGED. THUS PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE IS SEEN AS SERVING THE "DEVELOPMENT AND DEEPENING OF THE WORLD REVOLUTIONARY PROCESS AND IS THE ABSOLUTE ANTITHESIS OF IDEOLOGICAL COMPROMISE. TARGETS OF OPPORTUNITY ("ALL-ROUND HELP TO THE DRIVE FOR DEMOCRACY AND SOCIALISM") ARE TO BE SEIZED AS THEY PRESENT THEMSELVES. IN SHORT, PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE IS A GREEN LIGHT FOR THE EXPORT OF REVOLUTION. MEANWHILE NATO AND THE MAOISTS CONTINUE TO STIR UP PLOTS IN THE BALKANS AND ELSEWHERE AND MUST BE FOILED.

4. ZHIVKOV'S DICTA ON THE INTERNAL SITUATION WITHIN THE MOVEMENT ARE MORE INTERESTING STILL. HE BEGINS THIS SECTION BY ACKNOWLEDGING THAT A NEW CLIMATE HAS BEEN ESTABLISHED AS "THE RESULT OF ACTION OF DIFFERENT DEMOCRATIC FORCES AND MOVEMENTS," AND GOES ON TO EXPRESS APPRECIATION OF THE GAINS MADE "THROUGH ACTIVE AND SELF-CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 SOFIA 01380 01 OF 02 021610Z

LESS STRUGGLE" BY THE WESTERN CPS. THEN HE DRIVES HOME THE LESSON: "THIS SUCCESS IS DUE PRIMARILY TO THE MIGHT OF THE REAL SOCIALISM (SIC) OF THE WARSAW PACT ORGANIZATION, THE FORCE WHICH RESTRAINS THE SECRET ASPIRATIONS OF IMPERIALISM." THAT IS TO SAY, BERLINGUER, MARCHAIS AND OTHERS WOULD HAVE GOTTEN NOWHERE WERE THERE NOT AN AUTHENTIC AND POWERFUL SOCIALIST BASE IN EASTERN EUROPE. THE THOUGHT IS INTERESTING AND NOVEL, AND READ

TOGETHER WITH ZHIVKOV'S SLASHING ATTACK ON THE US FOR ATTEMPTING TO INTERFERE WITH INTERNAL POLITICAL PROCESSES, SEEMS TO MEAN THAT BUT FOR THE POWER OF THE ORTHODOX IN EASTERN EUROPE, THE US AND ITS "REACTIONARY TOOLS" WOULD HAVE ATTEMPTED TO OUTLAW AND EXTIRPATE THE COMMUNISTS IN THE WEST.

NOTE BY OC/T: TEXT AS RECEIVED.

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 SOFIA 01380 02 OF 02 060902Z

21

ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 PM-04 INR-07 L-03 ACDA-07

NSAE-00 PA-01 SS-15 PRS-01 SP-02 USIA-06 TRSE-00

SAJ-01 DODE-00 H-02 NSC-05 IO-13 /080 W

----- 021116

R 021413Z JUL 76

FM AMEMBASSY SOFIA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 1421

INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST

AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST

AMEMBASSY BERLIN

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY PRAGUE

AMEMBASSY WARSAW

USNATO BRUSSELS 476

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 SOFIA 1380

5. UNDER THESE CONDITIONS, CONTINUES ZHIVKOV, THE LEADERS OF THE WESTERN CP'S MUST REALIZE THAT THEY COMMIT "A CRIME AGAINST THE PEOPLE" (I.E. TREASON TO THE MOVEMENT) WHEN THEY ASSOCIATE THEMSELVES WITH "ANTI-SOVIETISM" (AS THE BRITISH PARTY, FOR EXAMPLE, RECENTLY DID IN VOICING MEASURED DISAPPROVAL OF SOVIET PRISON CAMPS). PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM STILL LIVES, AND IT MEANS THAT WHEN "DIFFERENCES ARISE AMONG THE FRATERNAL PARTIES...THESE DIFFERENCES ARE TO BE CONSIDERED IN A COMRADELY MANNER", WITHOUT PUBLIC WASHING OF DIRTY LINEN. AND WHILE PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM "DOES NOT MEAN

BELITTling THE PRINCIPLES OF INDEPENDENCE AND EQUALITY OF THE INDIVIDUAL SOCIALIST COUNTRIES OR PARTIES", EQUALITY, IT MUST BE UNDERSTOOD, "DOES NOT CONSIST ONLY OF THEIR EQUAL AND SOVEREIGN RIGHTS BUT ALSO OF EQUALITY OF INTERNATIONAL OBLIGATIONS."

6. IT SEEMS TO US THAT TWO THEMES IN THE ZHIVKOV SPEECH
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 SOFIA 01380 02 OF 02 060902Z

DESERVE TO BE ADDRESSED MORE SPECIFICALLY BY THE US AND ITS ALLIES. ONE IS GENERAL AND ONE QUITE SPECIFIC.
(A) HIS "HARD-DRIVING" STATEMENT THAT THERE CAN BE NO IDEOLOGICAL COEXISTENCE AND THAT THOSE IN THE WEST WHO CALL FOR A TRUCE ON THAT FRONT WOULD "SOFTEN THE CLASS STRUGGLE, FREEZE THE SOCIO-POLITICAL STATUS QUO." TO THIS IT COULD BE REPLIED THAT NOT ONLY DO WE NOT ADVOCATE THE FREEZING OF THE SOCIO-POLITICAL STATUS QUO BUT THAT, ON THE CONTRARY, WE CONSIDER THAT NO COUNTRY IS EXEMPT FROM THE DIALECTICAL PROCESSES OF HISTORY, NOT

EVEN COMMUNIST COUNTRIES. (B) HIS CLAIM THAT "NATO (AND THE MAOISTS) ARE TRYING TO STIR UP AND USE TO THEIR INTERESTS THE EXISTING DIFFERENCES AMONG THE COUNTRIES" OF THE BALKANS.

7. IN MAKING THE LATTER STATEMENT, ZHIVKOV WAS CLEARLY SPEAKING OF RELATIONS BETWEEN GOVERNMENTS AND NOT RELATIONS BETWEEN PARTIES; AND ALTHOUGH HE ATTENDED THE CONFERENCE IN HIS CAPITY AS PARTY CHIEF, IT WOULD BE APPROPRIATE FOR THE US AND AT LEAST SOME OF ITS NATO ALLIES TO INQUIRE POINTEDLY WHAT HE MEANT BY THIS CHARGE. THIS IS OF COURSE NOT THE FIRST TIME THAT THE BULGARIANS HAVE MADE TOTALLY UNSUBSTANTIATED ACCUSATIONS ABOUT NATO ACTIVITIES IN THE AREA (THE PRESS HERE DID THE SAME, USUALLY REFERRING TO "NATO CIRCLES", IN CONNECTION WITH THE CYPRUS CRISIS). BUT IN THIS INSTANCE, ZHIVKOV WAS SPEAKING TO AN INTERNATIONAL AUDIENCE; AND SINCE HE IS NOT ONLY A PARTY LEADER BUT ALSO HEAD OF STATE, SUCH UNFOUNDED ACCUSATIONS SHOULD NOT BE IGNORED.
HERZ

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: PARTY UNITY, PFOR, SPEECHES, PARTY MEETINGS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 02 JUL 1976
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: CunninFX
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1976SOFIA01380
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: RR
Errors: N/A
Film Number: D760260-0311
From: SOFIA
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1976/newtext/t19760794/aaaadfck.tel
Line Count: 214
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ACTION EUR
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 4
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: 76 BERLIN 6163, 76 MOSCOW 10438
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: CunninFX
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 31 MAR 2004
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <31 MAR 2004 by greeneet>; APPROVED <04 AUG 2004 by CunninFX>
Review Markings:

Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
04 MAY 2006

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: ZHIVKOV WAS NOT SPEAKING ONLY FOR BULGARIA IN BERLIN
TAGS: PROP, PFOR, UR, BU, CSCE
To: SECSTATE WASHDC BELGRADE BUCHAREST BUDAPEST BERLIN MOSCOW PRAGUE WARSAW
Type: TE
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006